/28 cont./

and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which all the members of the tribe participate.

The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent. Yet I also know an old Ñandéva woman who had ten children, eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an exceptional case.

The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is sometimes enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become pregnant. There is another plant that is used to promote the conception of male children. At least the Kayová and the Ñandéva prefer male offspring.

Among the Kayová and Mbüá there is said to be infanticide of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to occur. But, with respect to the Ñandéva, I have noticed, for instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Ñandéva family with twin children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representations in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the Ñandéva of Jacareí I found dull and senseless individuals, who, incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpï rymbá, /29/ "created by God," that is, conceived without there having been any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute for an earlier child that had died.

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854 855 165 [164] [536] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guaraní are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest preoccupation with body cleanliness. A Mbüá from Xapecó told me [828] that "the Guaraní go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Ñandéva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guaraní of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat [147] and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippes, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tereré (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

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524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself 524 177 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 157 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In • [828] the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

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861 155 157 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

[846] [1171] 856 856 789 825 856 178 515 856 789 856

828 856 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

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828 856 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de pace/ (yrupé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also 856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing 82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/ killed in hunting: it is so that the child may learn to pick up well sweet potatoes, cará and other products of the earth. Another practice of the same Ñandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãtã ñeẽ), a bird that imitates the call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance to a good voice for singing: this consists of gargling for many days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kyréẽvadjá). Kyréẽ mombyrý ohó, "one who is smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Ñandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities. From the most tender childhood on every Ñandéva participates in the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus learning without any effort everything that is part of the group patrimony; at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer, which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the Mbüá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions by dint of always hearing them; they are used as lullabies, and little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves. Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of 869 contempt with which Miguel, Mbüá flanderú, told me: "We do 828 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does [115] not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

2: Schaden--82 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/70 cont./ This is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine Word/, who worked among the Mbüá and other Paraguayan Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in contempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller, 1919.

Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová, among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., instruction given for months by the paí to one or more youngsters who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates for the priesthood also exist as well among the Ñandéva.

For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary affection that the Ñandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has already observed that the rebom is called "Tudjá," old one. At Araribá the ñanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky, firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Ñandéva always give their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and reserve from a child who a few years before was known to everybody as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

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858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
725 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves, which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar /Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies, and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations. Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction, stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

2: Schaden--101 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

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The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual, birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

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Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjékóakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the Mbüá also speak of karuguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the Mbüá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

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844 The most common of the crisis situations is the one that
•[828] stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three
[184] subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me
[828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póro-avyký-á.

844 The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother;
[593] lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group.
[606] The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from
[602] nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of
[824] a splinter of takuãtí or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is
[752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are
[184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

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577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character (Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad nature" that he says he has; but at the same time he considers 577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend -- •828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on 775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward -- what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit" or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
997 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possible the direction and the range of the transformations brought by the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinterpretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

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774 822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 [192] Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual. [191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting 774 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica- 824 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy 156 of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part 774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what [828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable [825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

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or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake; violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar (mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat of the ñeẽ or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal region. The similarity with this or that animal, which sometimes is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./ "On the other hand," writes Nimuendajú, "I know a young woman from the horde of the Oguauíva, called Potá; she is quick and a little mischievous, and it is considered proven that she is the bearer of the acyiguá of a sai. This is because once, when Potá was little, an old doctor-sorceress, highly competent in these matters, heard the characteristic whistle of that species of monkey coming from her neck, the seat of the acyigua" (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá, which is not in accordance with the data collected by me, perhaps agrees better with certain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish, sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a manifestation of the animal soul.

Not only the ñeẽ or ayvú, which is given by Ñanderú and which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come already at birth," according to the words of the ñanderú Sebastião, "but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./ Poýdjú, although he supports the theory of the

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three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. -- This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguéry. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguêry, shade /Port. assombração/)," the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me, "sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks nonsense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

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774 • 828 755 [756] [624] early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the ñanderú is helped by the yvyráídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the ñanderú only gives the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyráídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- 774 828 The ayvú and the ayvúporãvê send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; 774 775 828 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguêry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, [825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, 775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguêry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguêry oguatá pytũmbyté

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795 oó dyvý yvýkuárendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboreodjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

[825] [126]

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm: it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykey is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive • 828 at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would per- 179 haps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

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775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
•828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected
[789] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/118 cont./

774 775 828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukuê(porãvê) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguêry disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Oñimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

77 184 182 828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Ñandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Ñandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mbüá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guaíra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952.

/118 cont./

What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title flanderú, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

For the Mbüá, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretẽ ("my body") and txefieẽ (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txefieẽ from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Ñandéva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbüá, as Cadogan also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

The Mbüá (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called fieẽ. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

/119 cont./

774 •828 Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation ñeẽ is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guaraní seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

774 /120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the ñeẽ are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

[761] The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

761 [755] Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go 775 to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

/120 cont./

775 heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a
[783] shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbüá call mboguá (Francisco also uses the word anguêry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery: "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

774 From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of
• 828 the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbüá, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel,
[184] the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbüá (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Ñandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbüá of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations ob-
[184] tained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the Mbüá of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. Accord-
[537] ing to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy ñeẽkuéry areko: peteĩn areko txepyáre, peteĩn areko txeakãre, mokõi areko okápe, oñgarekóva txerehé.

Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too desparate and incongruent for one to
[184] be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Ñandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the ñeẽ or ayvú, respectively ñeẽguẽ or ayvúkuẽ. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguêry

/121 cont./

774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjara"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváỹñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
[828] Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yrukútýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 796 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/125 cont./

756 159 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a 756 183 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 184 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kururú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan- 782 198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pytîva flesyrũ: in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuru pytîva rysýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 126 • 828 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the record-
ing machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by
him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
776 protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
787 It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
424 substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, de-
tach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away
foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry
house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing
the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of
porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the
domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed
simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of
the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion
and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two
fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganiza-
tion, the explanations given in one village and another concern-
ing the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over
it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater
cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to for-
eigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own
midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for
example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is
going badly nowadays because the white people are not very re-
ligious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have
a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that
to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
179 doctrines themselves.

/132 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Nanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

[177 [197

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/172 cont./

183 771 772 648 [796] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed [124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes [828] of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the [182] path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the [124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds [829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [182] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá́djá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

77 /175 cont./
177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco: the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

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The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned: they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

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[177]

/176 cont./

273 /footnote 10 cont./
•828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [529 855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism
182 reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a
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/36 cont./
553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain
[551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá
[177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These
[178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach-
[423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guarani* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live [773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among [791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guarani*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of [784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional [782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [791] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guarani* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power [756] from them.